Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----117324 210353Z /61

R 201310Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7132

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 CAPE TOWN 0782

EXDIS

DEPT PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI AND RICHARDSON FROM THORNTON

PASS USUN FOR COOKS

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PDEV, RH, US

SUBJECT: IMPRESSION OF SALISBURY

1. SUMMARY: THOMAS THORNTON OF NSC STAFF MET WITH SEVERAL PEOPLE IN SALISBURY ON APRIL 18 AND RECEIVED A VARIETY OF PREDICTABLE VIEWS. SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS EMERGED. MILITARILY, THE INSURGENCY HAS NOT SLACKENED AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING THE GUERRILLAS BACK. INDEED, IT SEEMED AFRAID TO TRY. THE KEY TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT IS DISMANTLING THE PROTECTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VILLAGES AND RELEASING DETAINEES. POLITICALLY, MUZOREWA CONTROLS THE CITIES AT LEAST AND THE DESIRE FOR PEACE IS PERVASIVE, SO THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT CANNOT BE WRITTEN OFF. NEITHER SIDE SEEMS VERY CONFIDENT AND THE POLITICAL BASIS FOR COMPROMISE IS PRESENT. IF WE ARE TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE, WE NEED MUCH BETTER INFORMATION. SOME SORT OF PERMANENT PRESENCE SHOULD BE

CONSIDERED. END SUMMARY.

- 2. DUE TO INAVAILABILITY OF ONWARD FLIGHTS, I SPENT TUESDAY IN SALISBURY AND HAD SEVERAL INTERESTING TALKS. ONE WAS WITH AN ARTICULATE, BLACK PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER WITH A COMMERCIAL FIRM WHO HAS CLEARLY GOT IT MADE AND LOOKS TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS A WAY OF INSURING WHAT HE HAS GOT. HE WAS VERY PERSUASIVE THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AFRICAN OPINION SUPPORTS THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE MADE THE COGENT POINT THAT EVEN URBAN AFRICANS ARE WELL AWARE OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE BUSH BECAUSE OF FAMILY TIES"AND BECAUSE AFRICANS RUN THE BUS SERVICE BETWEEN SALISBURY AND THE BUSH."
- 3. BASED ON HIS SOURCES OF INFORMATION, HE CLAIMED THAT THE GUERRILLAS SAW NO MORE POINT IN FIGHTING AND WERE PREPARED TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS AND RETURN. HE CONCEDED, HOWEVER, THAT TO KEEP ITS CREDIBILITY, THE GOVERNMNET HAD TO (1) DISBAND THE "PROTECTED VILLAGES" AND (2) RELEASE DETAINEES. HE SAID THAT THESE PROCESSES WERE BEING STARTED.
- 4. HE SAID THAT BISHOP MUZOREWA HAS OVERWHELMING POPULAR SUPPORT AND IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT (BUT DESIRABLE)
 TO FIND MEANS TO BRING NKOMO INTO THE INTERNAL
 SETTLEMENT. ONE POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE AS HEAD OF
 STATE.
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- 5. A TRADE UNION LEADER HAD ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT ANDY YOUNG AND AT STONEY COOKS REQUEST, I UNDERTOOK TO MEET HIM. HE TURNED OUT TO BE THE YOUNGER BROTHER OF ROBERT MUGABE. ALTHOUGH HE WAS INTERESTED IN GETTING SUPPORT FOR HIS FLEDGING TRADE UNION FEDERATION, HIS MAIN MESSAGE WAS THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL NOT WORK AND THAT THE PF IS DETERMINED TO FIGHT ON. THE PF HAS SUPPORT--ZANU DOMINATES ALL OF THE NORTH; MUZOREWA DARE NOT EVEN GO TO HIS FARM. HE READILY ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT MUZOREWA HAD SOLID SUPPORT AMONG URBAN HLACKS, AND WHEN PRESSED ADMITTED THAT IT MIGHT BE BROADER THAN THAT.
- 6. ACCORDING TO ALBERT MUGABE, THE DETAINEES AND PROTECTED VILLAGES ARE THE CHALLENGES THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST FACE. IF THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO MOVE ON THESE FRONTS, THEN THE PF LEADERS SHOULD BE WILLING TO RETURN TO RHODESIA AND TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD EXPECT A CEASE-FIRE, HE AGREED THAT THIS WAS REASONABLE AND SHOULD BE ARRANGED AT AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. (COMMENT: DESPITE

THE FAMILY TIE, I SEE NO REASON TO ASUME THAT ALBERT MUGABE CAN SPEAK AUTHORITATIVELY FOR HIS BROTHER--WITH WHOM, HE SAYS, HE IS NOT IN CLOSE CONTACT). NELSON

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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R 201310Z APR 78 FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7133 INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

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7. IN ADDITION, I WAS TREATED TO A LENGTHY HARANGUE BY A TAXI DRIVER WHO SUPPORTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BECAUSE HE WANTS THE FIGHTING TO STOP AND DOESN'T WANT THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS COMING TO RHODESIA. (INTERESTING, MAINLY, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOPHISTICATION OF EVEN POORLY-EDUCATED RHODESIAN BLACKS). RATHER MORE EXPERT WERE THE VIEWS OF THE YOUNG BRITISH FSO STATIONED IN SALISBURY. THE INSURGENCY IS NOT LETTING UP; THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL NOT WORK AND SMITH MAY NOT WANT IT TO; GUERRILLAS ARE SIMPLY NOT RETURNING: AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ISSUED A CALL FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE GUERRILLAS TO RETURN BECAUSE IT EXPECTS THAT FEW WOULD COME. (THIS LATTER POINT WAS ALSO PICKED UP BY AN AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT).

- 8. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SORT OUT THIS CONFUSED PICTURE, BUT SEVERAL POINTS DO STAND OUT:
- (A) THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE NO HEADWAY IN GETTING THE GUERRILLAS BACK AND THIS WILL BE THE TEST OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.
- (B) THE KEYS TO THE GOVERNMENT'S CREDIBILITY ARE THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES AND THE DISBANDING OF THE PROTECTED VILLAGES.
- (C) BOTH SIDES HAVE EXTENSIVE ACCESS TO THE GUERRILLAS AND KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON
- (D) NEITHER SIDE, HOWEVER, IS VERY CONFIDENT OF ITS FUTURE.
- (E) THE DESIRE FOR PEACE IS STRONG AND THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL FEARS OF TRIBAL WARFARE. SOME SEE EUROPEANS AS THE GUARANTORS OF TRIBAL PEACE. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS BY NO MEANS A NON-STARTER.
- 9. THERE ARE CLEARLY THE MAKINGS OF A POLICY IN THIS, AND THE "SAFETY NET" ROLE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN MAY STILL BE VERY RELEVANT. I AM NOT PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE, IF THE PRESENT STALEMATE HOLDS FOR A WHOLE.
- 10. IF WE AND THE BRITISH ARE TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HOWEVER, WE SIMPLY MUST HAVE MORE, BETTER AND MORE TIMELY INFORMATION ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN RHODESIA IN THE AREAS OF GUERRILLA RETURN, DISMANTLING OF PROTECTED VILLAGES, AND RELEASE OF DETAINEES. THIS ARGUES FOR AN EFFECTIVE, PREMANENT PRESENCE IN SALISBURY. NELSON

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED WHITE HOUSE.

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